/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingualism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet commissions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/14 cont./

184 804 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

487 484 804 823 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1] and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These durations, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

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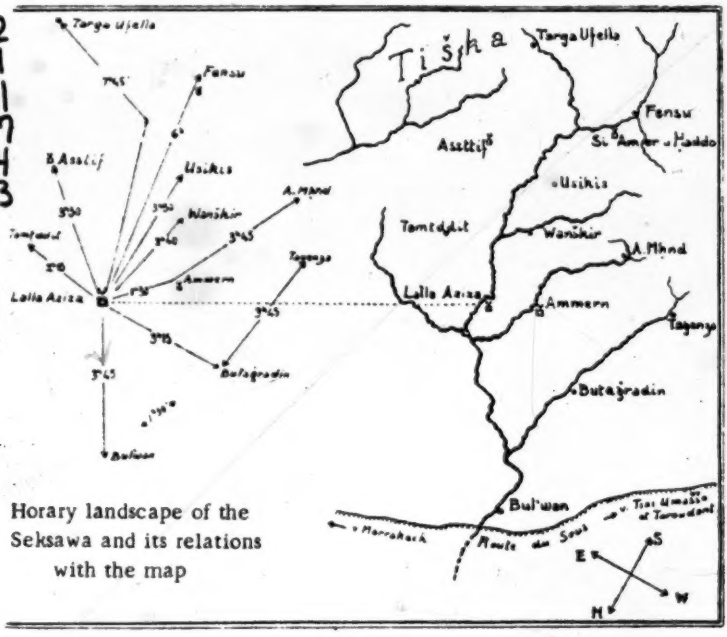

Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[186]

/148 cont./

823 [192] Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1),

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

823 312 "cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construction of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of [825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of 312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The 648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 423 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner of earth." [823] Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'-umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter ẓbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] [778] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation technique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

/239 cont./

776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
• 823 (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[151] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 716 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/249 cont./

539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mḥ'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

/250 cont./

823 771 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more profound than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 782 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and, inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints 823 782 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere 778 823 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/283 cont./

776 778 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

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1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two [823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seizè if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 778 346 764 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It contains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots, luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles
[823] the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

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1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya, Ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkrim who, again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents, so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons between tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would rejoin a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without always being able to define it.

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laf'f, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is considered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest [823] will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.